UNITED NATIONS

A

General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/47/PV.10
2 October 1992

ENGLISH

Forty-seventh session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 10th MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 24 September 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)

later: Mr. MONGBE (Benin)
(Vice-President)

- Address by His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Colombo (Italy)
Mr. Al-Dali (Yemen)
Mr. Gatti (San Marino)
Mrs. McDougall (Canada)

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Office of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

92-61221 1328V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. SOEHARTO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear an address by the President of the Republic of Indonesia.

Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Indonesia, His Excellency Mr. Soeharto, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President SOEHARTO (spoke in Bahassa Indonesian; English text furnished by the delegation): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. To your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Shamir S. Shihabi, I should like to convey our deep appreciation for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the last session.

I am also pleased to see our eminent Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, by your side. His incisive analysis of the impediments to the realization of the full potential of the United Nations and his recommendations on how to strengthen its capacity to maintain peace, secure independence and justice and foster generalized prosperity in the world, as contained in his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), do indeed deserve our serious consideration.

We welcome the new Members in our midst: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of

(President Soeharto)

Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Their accession to membership not only brings us ever closer to the goal of true universality of our Organization but also underscores the unflagging hope that humanity reposes in this multilateral forum for resolving the global issues of our time.

It is my privilege and responsibility to bring to the Asssembly a message from the developing countries belonging to the Non-Aligned Movement. I come here from the Tenth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which Indonesia had the distinct honour to host earlier this month. It was the largest Non-Aligned Summit ever convened.

I am honoured, therefore, to address the Assembly not only on behalf of the 180 million people of Indonesia, but also on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, which has 108 members, representing the vast majority of humankind and close to two thirds of the members of the Assembly.

(President Soeharto)

On behalf of the leaders of the Movement, whose consensus views were summed up in what has come to be known as the Jakarta message, may I convey to the Assembly the gist of that message.

As a political coalition encompassing more sovereign States than has any other grouping in history, we shall not be mere spectators nor agree to be on the sidelines of the currents of historical change now sweeping across the globe. We commit ourselves to the shaping of a new international order free from war and poverty, intolerance and injustice, a world order based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and genuine interdependence, one that takes into account the diversity of the social systems and cultures of the world. We pledge to seek that new international order through the central and irreplaceable instrumentality of the United Nations.

Holding fast to the principles of the Movement as first articulated at Bandung 37 years ago, we affirm the fundamental rights of every human being and every nation to development, to social progress and to full participation in the shaping of their common destiny. Through dialogue and cooperation our Movement will seek to place itself as a vibrant, constructive and interdependent component of the mainstream of international relations so that a new international order can take shape on a truly universal basis, ensuring harmony, peace, justice and prosperity for all.

That is the essence of the Jakarta message. Permit me now to elaborate on a few points.

(President Soeharto)

The comprehensive decisions and positions adopted by the tenth non-aligned summit, as recorded in its final documents, constitute both a response and an initiative, a dynamic adaptation in the face of the challenges and opportunities posed by the profound and radical developments that have transformed the patterns of international relationships. To a large extent the Non-Aligned Movement contributed to these global transformations. The unrelenting drive that it imparted to the world-wide decolonization process and to the struggle against racism hastened the demise of colonial empires, the rise of numerous newly independent States and the retreat of the inhuman policy of apartheid.

And yet the world today is still far from being peaceful, just and secure. Simmering disputes, violent conflicts, aggression and foreign occupation, interference in the internal affairs of States, policies of hegemony and domination, ethnic strife, religious intolerance, new forms of racism and narrowly conceived nationalism continue to obstruct the building of harmonious coexistence between States and peoples and have even led to the disintegration of States and societies. A profoundly anguishing example is that of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose break-up has led to the formation of separate, independent States, three of which, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, have since become Members of the United Nations.

On these explosive and tragic crises in various parts of the world our Movement has taken a clear stand. We have called for speedy and resolute action to end the carnage in Bosnia and Herzegovina and condemned the massive atrocities and violations of human rights being commmitted

(President Soeharto)

against the people of that Republic, especially its Muslim population. We have also condemned the repugnant policy of "ethnic cleansing", reaffirmed the inadmissibility of aggression and of acquisition of territory by force, and called for full respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and cultural identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We have launched collective action to help alleviate the immense suffering of the people of Somalia and to play a critical role in the search for a comprehensive solution to the fratricidal conflict in that land.

We have reiterated our unflinching support for the struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to realize their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and sovereign statehood in their own homeland. We call on the world community to prevail upon Israel to contribute to the search for peace through the implementation of the Security Council resolutions that provide for the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestine and Arab lands. And once again we stress the imperative need to end the universally condemned system of apartheid, once and for all, and of establishing a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

Having welcomed the end of the Gulf War and the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, we have urged the commencement of a process of reconciliation that will finally heal the wounds of war and restore stable peace and harmonious cooperation in that region.

(President Soeharto)

While we rejoiced at the establishment of the transitional government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, the tenth summit noted with regret that the process towards national reconciliation and the establishment of a permanent government through free and fair electons is still marred by continuing internecine strife. We hope that these obstacles will soon be overcome so that peace can be restored and national reconstruction can commence.

On Cambodia, we have reiterated our confidence in the determination and capability of the Cambodian people, under the leadership of Prince Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and the members of the Supreme National Council, with the assistance of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), to uphold the Paris Agreements in their balanced totality. We remain convinced that the Paris Agreements are still the best basis for the achievement of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in Cambodia, based on national reconciliation and reconstruction. Only through their strict implementation will it be possible to bring to an end the protracted war that has inflicted unspeakable suffering and devastation on the Cambodian people.

(President Soeharto)

A world caught in the throes of pervasive change and transition is basically an unstable and unpredictable world. The Movement has therefore resolved to intensify its efforts in the field of disarmament. While it is true that there has been encouraging progress in limiting nuclear and conventional armaments, the disarmament agenda is still largely unfinished. A nuclear-weapon-free world has always been the vision of our movement, for until it is achieved this threat to human survival will continue to cast its shadow over all other endeavours and aspirations. We have urged accelerated efforts on other priority disarmament issues, particularly the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction.

Besides posing an acute danger to world peace and security, the continuing global arms race and unbridled military spending also constitute a huge drain on national economies and on the world economy. Our Movement has consistently maintained that the resources released through disarmament and arms reduction should be redirected towards the social and economic development of all countries, especially the developing countries. The establishment of this productive linkage between disarmament and development will also make it possible to attain security at lower levels of armament.

We should now recognize that peace and security depend as much on socio-economic factors as on military ones. Sharply reduced prospects for economic and social advancement, large-scale unemployment, abject poverty, massive cross-border migrations and severe environmental degradation also endanger peace. We cannot hope to attain comprehensive security and stable peace without making substantive progress in the war against poverty, underdevelopment, disease and social injustice.

(President Soeharto)

That is why it should deeply concern us that the world economy is mired in sluggish and uneven growth. With few exceptions, developing countries are experiencing stagnation or vastly inadequate growth rates, with the most vulnerable ones slumping into sharp decline. Most alarming is the prolonged critical situation in Africa where the plight of millions requires speedy and decisive action. Africa deserves our special attention.

Developing countries in general are severely hampered by an unfavourable external economic environment characterized by inadequate access to technology, unabated protectionism, historically low prices for commodities and raw materials, severely contracted financial flows and the crushing burden of external debt, resulting in reverse financial flows to the developed countries and the multilateral financial institutions.

The external debt crisis of the developing countries has intensified in magnitude and global impact, and is being exacerbated by volatile exchange-rate fluctuations for the major currencies and by high interest rates. The debt-reduction schemes that have been tried are far from adequate; they need to be broadened to include all kinds of debts and all categories of debtors, including those that have made great efforts to meet their debt obligations. A differentiated approach should be adopted that would allow debt cancellation for the least developed countries and more generous terms, in both debt servicing and new concessional loans, for lower-income developing countries. Our Movement will continue to press for a coordinated and development-oriented approach to the solution of this problem that will bring relief as well as allow for the recovery and continued growth of debtor countries.

(President Soeharto)

Even global developments that appear to imply positive prospects could have a negative impact on the developing countries. The transformation of Central and Eastern European economies and the formation of powerful groupings among developed countries could deflect the focus from poverty alleviation in developing countries and adversely affect their trade and growth prospects. Particularly lamentable is the continuing impasse in the Uruguay Round of muiltilateral trade negotiations. The Non-Aligned Movement has therefore called on the developed countries to ensure without further delay a balanced, equitable and satisfactory conclusion of the Uruguay Round that would take into account the interests of all parties, especially the development needs and concerns of the developing countries.

We, the non-aligned countries, realize too well that global problems are interlinked, especially in the economic sphere. And because most of today's problems are global in nature, they cannot be solved through short-term relief measures or through piecemeal reform. Hence, it is time the countries of both the North and the South forged a new compact on development and a new democratic partnership in fashioning global solutions to these global problems. Only in that way can we deliver the world economy from its present disarray and do away with the inequitable international structures and modalities that have resulted in deepening disparities and unacceptable injustices in international economic relations and an inexorably widening prosperity and technology gap between the developed and the developing countries. Only in that way can we hope to restructure the international economic system and international economic relations so as to make them more equitable and thus more viable.

(President Soeharto)

We, the non-aligned countries, have therefore called for a revival of the constructive dialogue between the North and the South. But this time the dialogue should be based on the imperative of genuine interdependence, mutuality of interests and of benefits, and shared responsibility, with the positions of each side clearly elaborated and presented, and rationally discussed and negotiated. Never before have the fate and fortunes of the North and the South been so inextricably intertwined.

(President Soeharto)

In the absence of stability and development in the South, the North cannot hope to sustain its economic prosperity. Without a favourable global environment, which the policies of the North should provide, the South cannot achieve its development goals. Thus, common sense dictates the need for both sides to sit down and discuss how together they can manage the massive changes and challenges of the decades ahead.

At the same time, we have resolved to intensify South-South cooperation on the basis of collective self-reliance. This is imperative, for South-South cooperation is vital for promoting our own development and for reducing undue dependence on the North. It is also an integral element in any strategy for the attainment of a new and equitable international economic order. Towards that end, we are initiating concrete cooperative ventures in such areas as food security, population, trade and investment, and devising practicable modalities for their implementation. By thus pooling the resources, expertise and experience of the South, we hope to translate the concept of collective self-reliance into reality. We invite the developed countries and the multilateral financial institutions to support us in this endeavour, for it should be clear that the fostering of expanded economic cooperation among the developing countries will in turn impart added vitality to the growth and expansion of the world economy as a whole and yield corresponding benefits to the developed countries as well.

A global concern that requires the heightened attention of the entire international community is the rapid degradation of the environment. We, the non-aligned countries, welcome the results of the Conference held in Rio de Janeiro. They confirm the long-held conviction of our Movement that the

(President Soeharto)

issues of environment and development are inseparable and should be integrally addressed on the basis of equitably shared responsibility. The pursuit of environmentally sound and sustainable development will require a global partnership that will have to address the need of developing countries for commensurate, additional financial resources and access to environmentally sound technology. Even more important is the effective implementation of the agreed policies, which will require constant monitoring and consistent follow-through. In this context, we welcome the establishment of the high-level Commission on Sustainable Development.

We also believe that social development is no less vital than political and economic development. We therefore support the convening of a world summit on social development which should place the social needs of people at the heart of United Nations endeavours. The full and equal integration of women into the development process has always been a goal of the Non-Aligned Movement. Consequently, we shall fully cooperate in ensuring the success of the World Conference on Women in 1995. We believe that all children should be raised with a standard of living that is adequate for their health and well-being. We shall work to achieve that goal as a matter of moral imperative and commit ourselves to the full and effective implementation of the Declaration and Plan of Action of the World Summit for Children.

At Jakarta, the non-aligned countries enunciated an unequivocal stand on human rights. Allow me to quote from the Jakarta Message:

"We reaffirm that basic human rights and fundamental freedoms are of universal validity. We welcome the growing trend towards democracy and commit ourselves to cooperate in the protection of human rights. We

(President Soeharto)

believe that economic and social progress facilitates the achievement of these objectives. No country, however, should use its power to dictate its concept of democracy and of human rights or to impose conditions on others. In the promotion and protection of these rights, we emphasise the inter-relatedness of the various categories, call for a balanced relationship between individual and community rights, and uphold the competence and responsibility of national governments in their implementation. The Non-Aligned Countries, therefore, shall coordinate their positions and actively participate in the preparatory work for the Second World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993 in order to ensure that the Conference addresses all aspects of human rights on the basis of universality, indivisibility, impartiality and non-selectivity."

Moreover, it is our firm conviction that the objective of human rights is the realization of the full potential of the human being, and human potential is not confined to the political field. The fundamental right to economic and social development, for example, cannot be separated and cannot be treated separately from the other categories of human rights. These rights apply to nations as well as to individuals. Thus, every nation has the right to determine its own political and economic system and to preserve its cultural identity as shaped by its own particular historical experience.

The advanced countries of the West have recently been vocal in calling for democracy and good governance as an integral part of the development process, especially in the developing countries. Some are even inclined to make it a new conditionality in development cooperation. The call for democratization and democratic reform in all countries is indeed valid, for it

(President Soeharto)

relates directly to the basic aspirations of individuals and nations. But democracy is not a static concept limited to certain established forms and practices. Its basic principles and tenets are indeed of universal and immutable validity. But no single model of democracy can be assumed to be of universal applicability, given the diversity of cultural values and historical experiences of the nations of the world.

(President Soeharto)

Moreover, it would be a denial of the basic tenets of democracy if its values were to be strictly observed within nations while they are being ignored among nations. Hence democracy and democratization are dynamic processes that should conform to the fundamental values of each nation and constantly adapt to evolving realities in order to remain relevant and, more important, democratic.

These observations equally apply to the United Nations. That is why the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has always insisted that this multilateral Organization should likewise reflect the democratic spirit of equality, equity and transparency, in representation as well as in the processes of decision-making. Therefore the United Nations and its principal organs should periodically undergo a process of review and revitalization in order to ensure its dynamic adaptation to the evolving realities of international life, and in order that it may continue to play an effective role as the focal point for the management of the critical global issues of our time.

We the non-aligned countries have therefore resolved to play an active and constructive role in the revitalization, restructuring and democratization of the United Nations system. For this purpose, we have decided to establish a high-level working group charged with elaborating concrete proposals for the restructuring of the United Nations.

We believe that a balanced relationship among the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council and the Secretary-General is imperative. There should be greater accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly on decisions and actions affecting the interests of the entire international community. The role of the General Assembly as a forum for deliberation, negotiation and decision-making must be enhanced.

(President Soeharto)

It is our conviction that the United Nations capacity for enhancing international development and cooperation should be strengthened by revitalizing the Economic and Social Council. We believe that the office of the Secretary-General should be provided with resources that are commensurate with its tasks, which have vastly expanded as a result of recent world events. The Secretary-General's mandate should be enlarged to enable him to take the necessary initiatives in the pursuit of preventive diplomacy and in enhancing the efficacy of United Nations peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building operations.

We believe also that it is time to address the matter of the size and composition of the Security Council. This, we realize, should be done with circumspection, for it involves a fundamental aspect of the Organization's purposes and functions.

When the Charter of the United Nations was framed and its organs established in 1945, the main preoccupation of its founding members was - rightly so - that never again should the scourge of war be allowed to devastate humankind. They therefore envisioned a collective security system that they thought could be capable of preventing another world war.

Since then, however, the world has changed in a most profound way. Over the past 47 years, numerous nations achieved their independence and joined the United Nations as sovereign Member States, thus giving the Organization near-universality in its composition. Their entry reflected the universal drive of peoples to liberate themselves from colonial bondage. But what was the ultimate goal of the struggle? They fought for political independence, not because it was an end unto itself, but because it was the necessary condition for the attainment of a further and larger goal: development.

(President Soeharto)

Those who fought for independence invariably had a vision of their own people attaining the blessings and the dignity of economic and social progress, which is never possible in a state of political subjugation.

In a very real sense, true freedom is attained only through development, and the formal trappings of political independence are empty until they are substantiated by economic and social progress. While it may be true that colonialism in its classical form has virtually come to an end, the process of decolonization will not be finished until economic independence is achieved.

Thus, if in the past the major preoccupation of the United Nations was, rightly, the prevention of another world conflagration and the liberation of peoples from political bondage, today the world, and therefore the United Nations, should be seized with the struggle of all countries for national development. This preoccupation should be reflected in the work of the United Nations and in the composition and dynamics of its organs, in particular the Security Council.

We live in an age of development in which economic power has become more decisive than ever. We live in a world where billions of people in the developing countries of the South are beginning to assert their right to realize their economic and social potential.

We believe therefore that the Security Council should be expanded to accommodate new members who, if they are not to be given veto powers, should at least serve as permanent members. They should join the Council on the basis of a combination of relevant criteria that more faithfully reflect the world situation today. That means that the criteria should also take into account the changing concept of security, which has now to emphasize the economic and social aspects as much as the military. We cannot close our

(President Soeharto)

eyes to the fact that the economic policies of industrialized countries and the economic weight of the developing countries, particularly the most populous among them, have as much bearing on international peace and security as the armaments of the military Powers. We further believe that it may also be timely and pertinent that the manner in which the veto powers are now exercised should be subjected to a constructive review.

The full elaboration of the meaning and intent of the Jakarta message will be found, not in our speeches, but in the concrete work of the Movement in the days to come. It is a momentous task that we have to undertake - the building of a new world order dedicated to peace as well as to justice, to security as well as to development, to democracy both within and among States, and to the promotion of the fundamental rights of nations as well as of individual human beings. Let me re-emphasize that to the non-aligned countries, any new world order is viable and commonly acceptable only if based on recognition of the United Nations as its center-piece and its universal framework and if rooted in the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

This endeavour will take more than the exercise the best efforts of any single country or any group of countries. But with the help of God Almighty, with the support and participation of all nations that share our aspirations, we shall, God willing, achieve that new world order.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Indonesia for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Soeharto, President of the Republic of Indonesia, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. COLOMBO (Italy) (spoke in Italian; English text furnished by the delegation): First of all, I have great pleasure in congratulating you, Sir, and your country, Bulgaria, on your election as President of the General Assembly. I should also like to express Italy's satisfaction, and my own, at seeing here present the delegations of the new States admitted to our Organization during the past year: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. May I be permitted to extend a particularly warm welcome to the delegation of San Marino, a State with which Italy has close ties of very long standing.

I should particularly like to express my Government's most sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is giving the United Nations the benefit of his wealth of experience in political affairs and diplomacy. Even in his first year he has already worked tirelessly and constructively to apply the principles which we all support and which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

The points I am about to make follow on the comments, which Italy fully endorses, made by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, the current President of the European Community.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

Since the historic events of 1989, no General Assembly session has been held, or will be held in the near future, against the same international background as the session of the previous year. Since the demise of bipolarism, international society has become subject to processes of reaggregation which are made more laborious and arduous by an array of historical, cultural, ethnic, religious and nationalistic factors. There are certain groups that, wishing to assert their own specificity, are not content to be recognized and safeguarded within the State framework to which they belong, but seek to express their own identity in the form of statehood.

In the East, what was once a monolithic structure has been falling apart, and, in some cases, is being fragmented into a multiplicity of separate entities, each demanding to translate its own history, culture and national identity into an international personality. In the process, they are resorting to all available means, including conflict and violence.

The obstacles preventing the restoration of equilibrium are not really new: they derive from factors that have long been chafing under the heavy yoke of dictatorship. Constrained in ideological straitjackets, they have been unable to engage in an open dialectic. Denied all opportunities for natural development, they have maintained the potential for confrontation and conflict.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

With the fall of ideologies and the break-up of the Soviet empire, the nightmare of a nuclear holocaust has receded. But while the spectre of a world war has been banished, we are still seeing a proliferation of local wars. These and the manifold antagonisms underlying them now pose a new threat, particularly in geographical areas that have regained their freedom but find it marred by violence and conflict and are unable to build a new structure based on tolerance and peace.

There are therefore hotbeds of war, signs of revolt and unresolved conflicts in areas formerly belonging to the Soviet empire, which is now divided into a number of republics united only by tenuous economic relations and very fragile political ties.

In Central Europe, ancient nations which have graduated from limited to full sovereignty are endeavouring to become pluralistic democracies with a market economy., They, too, are having their share of problems.

And how can we forget the war raging in the very heart of Europe - the most complex, dangerous and tragic of all these conflicts and the one thus far untouched by all international appeals? In the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, bloodshed and strife are accompanied by violations of the dignity of the human person. After the horrors of the Second World War, we had all hoped never again to witness acts of discrimination and violence against those belonging to a different ethnic group.

What gives us cause for pessimism is the fact that after the London Conference a new and original experiment, which brought together round

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

the conference table the United Nations, represented by its Secretary-General, the 12 members of the European Community, the members of the United Nations Security Council, and representatives of Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, and after clear commitments were entered into and undertakings were even signed on such matters as cessation of the violence, control over heavy weapons, the cessation of "ethnic cleansing" and the closure of concentration camps, nothing - I say nothing - has been done apart from some occasional checks on heavy weapons.

In spite of the assurances and undertakings given by Prime Minister Panic, which we consider sincere and deserving of support, shooting continues in the towns and in the mountains, and planes are being shot down, as in the case of an Italian aircraft carrying relief supplies. Four airmen died in that incident, and three French soldiers belonging to the United Nations Protection Force have been killed. Many other lives have been lost. A miserable winter lies ahead and people will suffer from hunger, cold and disease. It is now too dangerous to provide humanitarian assistance, and the threatened sanctions are not entirely watertight.

Can the international community and its institutions permit this ongoing tragedy to persist in spite of the solemn promises and pledges made at high-level peace conferences? Can the perpetrators of heinous and odious crimes be allowed to escape international judgement, also at the legal level? This question must be answered by those whose duty it is to do so, including myself, in the appropriate forums.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

However, going beyond politics, I should like to reiterate an appeal voiced by one of the greatest writers of this century:

> "What we need today is a 'militant' humanism imbued with the conviction that the principles of liberty, tolerance and doubt must not be exploited or defeated by a fanaticism that knows no doubts. If European humanism has lost its robust capacity to review its ideas it will end in ruin, and we will have a Europe whose name is no more than a geographical term."

In the third world, too, the end of bipolarism has eliminated for many States the need to "belong" and to heed the dictates of a particular bloc, even in a non-aligned context. Crises exist also in this area, as in the case of Somalia, Iraq and Mozambique, although we hope to see this latter crisis resolved, also as a result of Italy's mediation efforts.

At this point we should ask ourselves a question: Now that the gulf between East and West has been bridged, are we not about to face a rift between North and South? We must counter this danger and reactivate the dialogue in all possible forums and translate the concept of assistance into a living reality. We should also oppose methods and procedures that use development cooperation to help the economic agents of donor countries; work on the basis of established programmes; ensure that assistance is not wrongfully diverted both in the countries of origin and in those of destination; and reorganize and coordinate the various sources of financing. Italy realizes that it has not yet reached, owing to its financial imbalances, the generous development assistance targets it had

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

set for itself. A reorganization of the country's financial structures will also facilitate a renewed effort to fulfil this pledge.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

Now that the Rio Conference has been held, international cooperation will have to reconcile the needs of development with the equally pressing need to protect the environment. Italy, which supports the establishment of the United Nations Commission for Sustainable Development, undertakes to implement the Rio recommendations in an effort involving governments as well as non-governmental organizations.

Chile's proposal for a world social conference, which Italy warmly supports, opens up yet another important field of endeavour for the United Nations.

In surveying this new international scene, we have no reason to lament or regret the passing of the bipolar structure of the world. We cannot forget that we paid for the containment of a global threat with a peace guaranteed by the menace of nuclear war, by the denial of freedom to millions of human beings, by violations of the fundamental rights of man and by the inaction of a society that destroyed resources, stunted the growth of its own leadership and is now posing the same old problems in a more acute form.

The ideological confrontation has ended with the downfall of the largest ideological system in our history, the communist system, but now that this ideology has collapsed, problems have remained in individual nations and in the world as a whole. The names of these problems are hunger, disease, environmental degradation and political instability. It would indeed be an irreversible defeat for mankind were the world of affluence, production and consumption of our generation to confuse the downfall of ideologies with the collapse of all values and if it were to forget that in every national society, and particularly in relations between the industrialized world and

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

the developing countries, the two concepts of solidarity and interdependence need to be translated into political action.

An example of this need is provided by the problem of Somalia. This country tragically illustrates the total detachment and lack of concern shown by the affluent societies towards countries plagued by poverty and disease, but the fate of this country also exemplifies the harm caused to people by prolonged power struggles that are never resolved. The country is divided in half. The capital, Mogadisshu, is also divided, and like other population centres lacks essential services. The people are suffering from malnutrition and their health is in jeopardy. Armed youths, some no older than 14, are defending the territory by violent means. They do not attend school because they are unable to do so. We must gratefully acknowledge the initiative taken by the United Nations and its Secretary-General in sending a Special Representative, Ambassador Sahnoun, who is doing outstanding work in the field of humanitarian assistance and in the service of peace.

I myself paid a two-day visit to the capital and parts of the interior. I found assistance facilities deplorable, and I spoke individually with the persons who have the power to make war or peace in an effort to promote peace initiatives. Anyone, regardless of region or religious affiliation, who is able to assist in the peace process must do so, because Somalia needs guidance, partners and, in short, a government. We must therefore give urgent attention to the need for an international initiative involving organizations and countries able to contribute to the pacification and reconstruction of Somalia, with the active participation of the United Nations.

At this point, I should like to emphasize one of the most delicate and problematical, but also most promising points of contact between North and

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

South, namely, the Mediterranean. Italy is currently following, in a spirit of optimism and active support, the promising developments in the peace process designed to end the Arab-Israeli conflict and provide a solution to the Palestinian question. Italy is aware that this hoped-for solution should also lead to the removal of a burden that has jeopardized the prospects for promoting a climate of peace and collaboration in the Mediterranean. Our expectations, which, we believe, are shared by the entire international community, thus extend beyond the vital objective of achieving mutual acceptance between all the peoples of the Middle East and look forward to a future characterized by sincere commitment to the process of dialogue and cooperation in the economic as well as in other fields in order to build peace.

In trying today to identify possible means of reconstituting the international order, we find that regional groupings can play a unifying role, whether they follow the path of integration or confine themselves to close cooperation in the economic field, in foreign policy or in security matters.*

In Western Europe, we have built and tested structures that have brought about a phenomenon quite different from the situation now prevailing in the troubled Eastern part of the continent.

---

* Mr. Mongbé (Benin), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

The need to defend democracy, the vast scope of economic development, spurred by technological progress, and the necessity of preserving the values of European culture and history, so that Europe can again play a major role in international society have led us to attach less importance to the theory and practice that nations must necessarily take the form of States. They phenomena have shown us that large areas of State sovereignty can be administered jointly in a supranational context and that such a link can also make war impossible. The process is certainly not an easy one, because it must be achieved through consensus and because obstacles, as we have seen in the last few days, crop up at every turn.

European integration has repeatedly proved capable of overcoming the difficulties it has encountered. It is a mistake to speak, as some have done recently, of delays or setbacks in the process of further integration established at Maastricht. At their meeting held here in New York, the Foreign Ministers of the Community took note of the positive outcome of the French referendum and reaffirmed their determination to ratify the Treaty within the time stipulated without renegotiating it.

The phenomenon of European integration can be seen as an attractive example and also as a factor for re-aggregation and stability in Central and Eastern Europe. In this context, the Commonwealth of Independent States could be a stabilizing element in so far as it can offer its former components valid prospects for association.

A significant link between various components of the European continent is provided by the Central European Initiative, which Italy continues to support.

In the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), nations both large and small have gained the conviction that war can never again be a means of

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

solving problems between them. That alliance has now formed an association in the framework of the North Atlantic Council with countries that were formerly its adversaries.

Since Helsinki II, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) has been setting up institutional machinery to assist it in better performing its tasks.

Examples of integration are to be found not only in Europe but on every continent, and they encompass a variety of forms, ranging from the more tried and tested institutions, such as the Andean Pact and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), to more recent initiatives, such as the common market of four South American countries (MERCOSUR), or completely new developments, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Also very important are the new forms of cooperation in certain specific and highly sensitive areas, such as the nuclear sector. The recent agreement between Argentina and Brazil would appear to be very promising.

The formation of regional associations is a course worth pursuing and an effective means of strengthening international society. The United Nations might find this a useful means of consolidating the peace.

The problems in whose solution the United Nations will increasingly be involved deal not only with relations between States but also with their internal structure and their components in terms of minorities and ethnic groups. Italy does not have an answer, but it does have concrete experience to contribute to the international community: the solution to the Alto Adige problem. That dispute between Italy and Austria, which was brought before the United Nations in the period 1960-1961, was officially brought to a conclusion last June. That conclusion came as a result of a lengthy process involving the elaboration and application at the national level of a package of measures

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

adopted by Italy in consultation with the representatives of the German-speaking population of Alto Adige. Those measures cover all aspects of civilian life and provide one of the most progressive examples of minority protection in Europe.

We feel that the settlement of that issue proves that autonomy, when adequately guaranteed by domestic legal provisions, serves to strengthen rather than weaken harmony in a national setting, while also promoting good-neighbourly relations and international cooperation across borders.

There is no doubt that in the changed conditions in which we are living the United Nations will have greater responsibility and will therefore need greater authority and more effective means of performing its mission; hence the discussions concerning a "new United Nations", that is, an Organization capable of moving in new directions to satisfy the widely felt need for some kind of world order or government.

It is the members of the Assembly that, in conformity with the Charter and in fulfilment of the obligations deriving from it, must assume the status and responsibility not only of peace-loving countries, but also of States that renounce the use of force as a means of settling international disputes and consider the protection of human rights to be an inescapable duty.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

We welcome the appearance of a new and compelling document which should serve as a basis for discussion in the Organization. I am referring once again to "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General's report on preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. Preventive diplomacy should be a means of defusing potential conflicts before they reach the critical threshold of a confrontation.

This preventive approach calls also for prompt steps to guarantee - through mechanisms contemplated in General Assembly resolution 46/36 L - the transparency of international arms transfers and of their production. The same applies to the convention banning chemical weapons, which has finally been submitted to the Assembly for approval and which will institute a global monitoring system with unprecedented powers of on-site verification.

Peace-keeping must now be approached and applied today in innovative ways so as to make more effective the linkage between action to prevent a sharpening of armed conflict and the search for negotiated solutions.

It is also worth giving in-depth consideration to the possibility of using "peace-enforcement" units, not just to perform the tasks of traditional peace-keeping forces, in other words to intervene where a cease-fire exists, but in order to restore and maintain it.

Lastly, a new need arises from the existing conflicts, the need to supplement peace-keeping and peacemaking instruments by providing adequate military protection for humanitarian assistance efforts.

In order to cope with all these requirements we will need adequate structures and resources. Also, Italy - along the lines here illustrated by the French Foreign Minister - is prepared to give its own concrete contribution, as it has proved with its recent offer of men and equipment formulated in the framework of the Yugoslav crisis.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

The situation of former Yugoslavia also highlights the importance of the regional dimension in pursuing "An Agenda for Peace". It now seems that the option of a regional solution for regional conflicts as provided in the Charter could be effectively applied in a variety of ways in a kind of variable geometry of peace. An important example is the format of the London Conference, which I have already mentioned. Here the regional dimension is not an alternative to United Nations involvement; it also operates on the basis of a creative formula for the sharing of responsibilities.

The United Nations system in any case seems destined increasingly to rely in practice on regional organizations - ranging from the Organization of American States (OAS) to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) - and communities, alliances or unions of States, as is the case for the European Community, the Western European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in the Yugoslav situation.

Important new developments compel us also to rethink the limitations on the application of certain traditional concepts and principles underlying international relations. To rethink certainly does not mean to reject. It means avoiding all rigid and absolute definitions and interpreting principles in such a way as to preclude unbalanced applications that are bound to be in conflict.

We may note, for example, that at the urging of a collective conscience that now knows no boundaries the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States is being increasingly reviewed in the light of the grave dangers threatening the survival of entire population groups. It is also clear that if every ethnic, religious or language group were to claim its own State there would be endless fragmentation and, consequently, instability.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

From the discussions held during the first few days of the session it is becoming increasingly clear that all Members of the Organization agree in their evaluation of the central role regained by the United Nations. We all seem to realize that this strengthening of the United Nations will require not only the assignment of new roles but also the provision of adequate powers and resources. The alternative would be the anti-historical reconstitution of an oligarchy made up of those countries having the greatest capacity for unilaterally assuming the role of guarantors of international legality.

We must protect the United Nations new capacity for action with greater vigilance and a keen sense of responsibility without becoming entrenched in positions that would preclude future institutional development.

Italy, along other countries, has already stated that the question of revising certain parts of the Charter relating to matters such as the composition of the Security Council must be adequately debated. We still believe that the Council could be made more authoritative and representative by increasing the number of temporary and permanent members, choosing the latter on the basis of objective criteria.

Italy will also assert its aspiration for a more adequate representation in the Security Council at that moment, unless institutional developments in the European Union will not allow at a certain stage the institution of a European seat in the Security Council.

I should like to conclude by observing that the United Nations has the main responsibility for handling the difficult yet exciting international developments we are now witnessing. It will do so with tools of crisis management that are suitable to the world of today, a world in which it is

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

becoming increasingly necessary to accept limitations in the area of national sovereignty, guaranteed by the objectivity of a supranational collective system, by using political instruments and procedures wherever possible, or by applying coercive measures if they are needed.

(Mr. Colombo, Italy)

What needs to be preserved are the aims of the Charter, which continue to be not only valid but indeed essential. But in a world that is now quite different from the world of 1945, the transformation of which began to accelerate in 1989, it would be unthinkable to suggest that we should avoid taking speedy and courageous action to devise new instruments, change our thinking and review the powers and composition of United Nations organs. Only by maintaining a fruitful polarity between permanent goals and new instruments, to which we must all contribute, will we be able to meet the challenges of our times.

Mr. AL-DALI (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): It is an honour for me to extend to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish you every success in your high post. I also take this opportunity to extend to Ambassador Samir Shihabi, through you, our deepest appreciation of the great role he played during his outstanding presidency of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

I also take the opportunity to commend the outstanding and significant role of Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in promoting the effectiveness of the United Nations through the implementation of the principles and purposes of the Charter.

More than two years have passed since the establishment of the Republic of Yemen. This national historic achievement has been one of the most important world events of the beginning of this decade which abounds with great changes. The dream of the Yemeni people has become an actual reality thanks to their deep belief in the inevitability of unity and their persistent struggle to achieve that unity.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

The Yemeni people have earned the admiration of the world through the realization of their unity by peaceful and democratic means. The Constitution of the Republic of Yemen emphasizes the commitment of the country to the principles of democracy. It enshrines the right of all Yemeni citizens fully to enjoy their principal freedoms, including the freedom of expression, in every way. It also stipulates respect for their legal and constitutional rights, such as the right to unrestricted unionist and political action.

The Republic of Yemen, from its very inception, has enjoyed the benefits of an active participation in political life by a society that, having evolved through a multiplicity of political parties, associations and people's organizations, recognizes the importance of diversity and the exchange of opinions and ideas.

Yemen in its new era is about to end the transitional period and is now on the threshold of another, more promising, stage. It will hold the first elections throughout the country in which all Yemeni people, men and women, will cast their votes and elect the members of the new House of Representatives in accordance with the Constitution.

In the face of all these historic, vital changes, Yemen is confronted by a number of challenges which include certain economic difficulties that have resulted from the return, because of the Gulf crisis and for other reasons, of more than a million expatriates who used to work in neighbouring sisterly countries. On the other hand, parts of Yemen have suffered destructive floods and violent earth tremors in the middle region. In addition, these are the burdens of providing shelter and sustenance to thousands of our brethren, refugees from sisterly Somalia.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

Following the proclamation of the Republic of Yemen, my country declared that Yemeni unity was not intended to be set against the interests of any State in the region, especially those of neighbouring States and that it was proclaimed to contribute to the strengthening of security, stability, cooperation and integration in our region. In confirmation of all this the Yemeni House of Representatives approved the first statement of the Government of Unity, which emphasized the willingness of Yemen, for the first time, to start negotiations concerning its borders with neighbouring sister countries according to historical and legal rights and the principles of international law. In this context, negotiations between Yemen and the sisterly Sultanate of Oman concerning borders have reached their final stage.

On the question of the borders between Yemen and Saudi Arabia, my country reiterated its willingness to consider this question and to discuss it with the sisterly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The initiative of President Ali Abdullah Saleh, Chairman of the Presidential Council, in which he called upon our brethren in Saudi Arabia to initiate face-to-face meetings on the question of borders according to historical and legal rights, has had its positive impact. Our brethren in Saudi Arabia have responded to the initiative of the Yemeni leadership. The first preparatory ministerial meeting between the two parties was held in Geneva on 20 July last. During that meeting, proposals were exchanged concerning the holding of the second meeting in one of the two capitals, either Sanaa or Riyadh. It has been agreed to hold the second meeting at the level of a committee of experts in the city of Riyadh later this month. This demonstrates Yemen's determination, in its new era, to translate words into actions and to reaffirm, on a practical level, that it seeks to strengthen security and stability, and calls for regional and bilateral cooperation between the countries of the Arab peninsula.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

The world hears and witnesses on TV screens the human tragedy experienced by the brotherly Somali people. Hundreds of men, women and particularly children die daily in a cruel and sad manner.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

Thousands of them die of hunger, and thousands of internecine strife. Thousands of Somalis flee the country daily to escape this hellish, devastating war and to seek their livelihood. The steps taken by the Security Council to help the people of Somalia out of their plight have come a bit late. We call for the intensification of international efforts to urgently provide the necessary humanitarian assistance and ensure its delivery to all the Somali people who face death in every part of the country.

In this connection, Yemen commends the leading role played by the Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in focusing attention on this tragedy, which the international community almost lost sight of in the maelstrom of the many crises buffeting the world.

While we commend the recent increasing efforts by the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations to help the Somali people out of their plight, we call for addressing the root causes of that tragedy. Hence, the United Nations is called upon to adopt practical measures in cooperation with the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to search for a political solution to the Somali crisis. Without this, all the world's humanitarian efforts will be no more than palliatives.

Yemen has participated in the efforts made in the framework of the Somali National Reconciliation Conference, held in Djibouti last year under the auspices of President Hassan Gouled. Unfortunately, however, the national power groups in Somalia have failed to implement the resolutions adopted at that conference. Therefore, we appeal to the international community to make another attempt to contain the Somali crisis and to arrive at a definitive solution to the conflict. In this connection, I should like to reiterate Yemen's willingness to participate anew in any efforts that may be deployed,

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

hopefully in the very near future, to hold another conference for national reconciliation in Somalia and to ensure its success. The plight of Somalia has exceeded all bounds. Let us all hasten to save Somalia from disintegration and fragmentation and to save the Somali people from suffering and misery.

When we speak of human suffering, we must mention the bloody events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the people are subjected to acts of murder, destruction and displacement at the hands of the Serbian forces, which have adopted the heinous policy of "ethnic cleansing". Those forces have persisted in their acts of aggression. They continue to incarcerate thousands of people from Bosnia and Herzegovina - men, women, even the elderly - in concentration camps, in a frightening repeat of horrible Nazi practices. We join the rest of the world's countries in calling for an end to these acts of aggression, which are supported by Belgrade. We also support firmly all the steps and measures adopted by the Security Council with a view to putting an end to these atrocious massacres and restoring peace to the Balkans.

The human tragedies that beset this or that nation and overwhelm this or that people are manifestations of political crises that deteriorate to the level of military confrontation and armed conflict. No matter how varied the causes and motives of such crises may be and regardless of their differing circumstances, they tend to have one thing in common: namely that it is the innocent civilians and especially the most vulnerable among them, who pay the price and bear the brunt of the blunders of others. Invariably, they become the victims of conflicts and wars without reason or justification, and without mercy.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

This is the case with regard to the brotherly people of Iraq, whom the international community seems to have forgotten after having imposed on them one of the most cruel and intensive forms of comprehensive economic embargo ever - an embargo that has deprived them of all the requirements of civilian life, including those of children and medical care. The Republic of Yemen calls upon the international community to lift the embargo imposed on the Iraqi people.

On another level, Yemen has voiced its concern over the actions taken to prevent Iraqi aircraft from flying beyond latitude 32 to the south of Iraq under the pretext of protecting the Shiites. We are certainly against any arbitrary actions or violations of the human rights of any group of people. But we are also against intervention or interference in the internal affairs of any sovereign State. The segmentation of the sovereignty of the State of Iraq over its territories in the north and the south, in our opinion is not consonant, with the principle of respect for the sovereignty of States. It could lead to the fragmentation of the territorial integrity of Iraq.

These days, bilateral negotiations continue between the Arab delegations and the Israeli delegation in Washington in pursuance of the peace process, which is designed to establish a just and durable peace in the Middle East under the auspices of the United States of America and the Russian Federation.

The Republic of Yemen, which has previously expressed its support for the efforts made by the United States of America and the Russian Federation to push forward the peace process in the Middle East through the peace conference, expresses its belief that the ongoing negotiations will not be successful unless they proceed from a commitment to adhere to the principle of land for peace, according to Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

338 (1973), and unless Israel agrees to withdraw from all occupied territories and to renounce completely the policy of expansion and settlement, especially in eastern Jerusalem. This must include the halting of settlement building, whether they are called political or security settlements as well as the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to sovereignty and independence.

At the beginning of this month, the Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement successfully concluded its work. The United Nations has been the focus of special interest in the summit meeting. This is not surprising. The United Nations has regained its rightful place in the heart of the international community after having been threatened with marginalization and atrophy. Its role has been strengthened in forging and coordinating international relations in all aspects of life. The Security Council has started to exercise its powers in maintaining international peace and security after several years of inertia.

After discussing the situation of the United Nations and its renewed role in the light of new ideas and proposals, including the "Agenda for Peace" submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and his important address to the conference, the Conference in Jakarta emphasized the importance of the United Nations as the main international forum for the activity of the Non-Aligned Movement. It also called for the participation of the Movement in the formulation of new international relations, as it embodies and represents the interests and aspirations of the developing countries, which constitute the majority of Members of the United Nations.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

In this context, we welcome the fact that the valuable proposals included in the "Agenda for Peace" will be discussed not only in the Security Council but also in the General Assembly,as the issue of peace in all its aspects is of interest to all the countries and peoples of the world.

As for the international economic situation, the meeting in Jakarta noted that, despite the positive changes in the area of international relations, the economic situation of the developing countries has deteriorated further and that, consequently, the United Nations must continue to promote cooperation between the developing countries and the industrialized countries in a manner that may serve the interests of economic integration in an equitable and increasing context.

The Rio conference contributed to informing the world of the need for a process of sustainable development, so that future generations may not be exposed to danger. Therefore, the international community is called upon to implement the international agreements approved by the Conference on Environment and Development, particularly Agenda 21, which will help to promote international cooperation.

The Charter of the United Nations will remain the meeting-point and symbol of concord between the countries of the world, large and small. It will also continue to represent the most ideal framework for coordination of international relations in a manner that promotes international peace and security. Today, and after the removal of the restrictions that hindered the use of machinery provided for in the Charter - such as the use of force - we need, more than ever, the strictest respect for the Charter to avoid its adaptation, or interpretation ofits provisions, for the purpose of serving the narrow national interests of any one party.

(Mr. Al-Dali, Yemen)

For all that, it is imperative that the foundations of democratic dealings in international relations be deepened and that balance and interaction between the main organs of the United Nations - namely, the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretariat - be ensured. Balance expresses the very spirit of the Charter.

Mr. GATTI (San Marino) (spoke in Italian; English text furnished by the delegation): The recent accession of the Republic of San Marino to membership of the United Nations makes it possible for me to take part in this general debate, prompted by the desire to contribute to fulfilment of the great tasks of the Organization. San Marino has always paid attention to the difficult work undertaken by the United Nations. We have felt deep satisfaction with its several achievements and have shared the anxiety and disappointment caused by the numerous violations of peace and by the obstacles to progress that this Organization has had to face.

What impressed us most was seeing the idea of universality, originally embodied in the Charter, become a reality in which everyone might participate. The United Nations has undertaken the difficult and essential task of drawing the world's attention to the issues and problems that mankind must face urgently. Thanks to the commitment of the United Nations, our hopes have been strengthened by greater certainty by a deeper sense of confidence.

Today the world and, in particular, the European continent are concentrating their attention on the former Yugoslavia - on its never-ending war, on the useless destruction of goods and property, on the inexcusable death of too many civilians, on the indiscriminate use of heavy weapons, on the extremely serious violations of fundamental human rights, on the unacceptable concentration camps - a phenomenon that we believed Europe had

(Mr. Gatti, San Marino)

relegated to history - on the obstacles brutally placed in the way of the relief missions that have been so generously organized by the United Nations, and on the non-observance of the rights of minorities and of freedom of religion.

If I am to speak frankly, as my position requires, I have to say that crimes that we have always considered to be the most serious, nationally and internationally, are being committed, and have been a reality for quite a long time, in the former Yugoslavia. A premeditated and determined refusal to find a peaceful solution must be considered an act of war, but counter-attack is difficult when there has been no actual attack. Peace is not a condition that can be imposed; it is a more complex reality, a permanent state that has to be felt.

In my opinion, every man has to be resolved to want peace and want to live in peace. This condition may exist only if men are in a state of peace, if their rights are respected, and if they are free to enjoy their liberty and their rights. It may exist only if men's legitimate aspirations are satisfied and if everyone is convinced that, in the exercise of his rights, nobody is riding roughshod over the rights of any other person, even if that person is of a different colour or a different faith.

The most praiseworthy and indispensable initiatives aimed at the restoration of peace will be useless until men are educated to a deep-rooted sense of peace. I believe that this is the future role of the United Nations - a role that the Organization will have to play with determination and authority. We have a common duty to contribute to the removal of war-clouds and bilateral tensions. It is essential that we commit ourselves to that end. In those circumstances, humanitarian support is increasingly

(Mr. Gatti, San Marino)

necessary. The entire world should be grateful to the United Nations for carrying out its mission with courage and great generosity in risky circumstances, which, owing to the irresponsibility of those who encourage and support war, can sometimes turn to tragedy.

But let me invite representatives to take on a more effective commitment to the idea and the sentiment of peace. We must all defend the right to peace, the main feature of which is freedom and respect for minorities. What force must freedom have if peace is to be maintained? It is the force rooted in and safeguarded by democratic government.

I am well aware that even the most advanced democracies are far from satisfying the two requisites of freedom. The first requisite, which takes a negative form, is the absence of any need to depend on the will of others; the second, which takes a positive form, is participation in the decision-making processes.

In any case, I am convinced that any other political system would do more to deprive people of freedom. Democracy, even in its most imperfect forms, is organized in such a way as to ensure that individuals may participate in the exercise of power. This occurs where there is positive freedom. However, that freedom is limited if negative freedoms - freedom of thought, freedom of association and of religion, and all the other freedoms granted by modern constitutions - are not guaranteed and safeguarded.

This implies that everyone must account for all acts perpetrated against freedom - all acts that violate human rights, and all acts that imperil peace. San Marino believes that the concept of personal responsibility must be stressed and must be made paramount internationally.

(Mr. Gatti, San Marino)

In democratic institutions, the exercise of power - both political and military - is a service rendered to civil and democratic growth and the social economic development of the entire community, in favour of the individual, never against him. Those who use power against a part of the community, against a minority or against a group of individuals, or those who hinder or make civil, cultural, social and economic development regress must account for their actions.

In these days the tragic scenes and information from Somalia fill us with sorrow. It is an offense to our civilization, intelligence and dignity that on the threshold of the year 2000 people should be starving to death. Unfortunately, we still have to cope with this tragic reality, and we hope that the United Nations will find timely and real solutions to this problem.

On the other hand, many other situations are awaiting solutions that are neither easy and immediate: the fight against drugs; the improper use of the natural environment and the damage caused by air and nuclear pollution; the phenomenon of migrations and the obligations States have towards immigrants; refugees' living conditions and the causes of the refugee phenomenon; issues concerning the young and the incentive to a greater commitment by the young to modern society; the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, against all forms of intolerance and against any attempt to restore that horrible practice called ethnic cleansing; terrorism; the ever-lasting imbalance in the distribution of wealth and resources which impoverishes poor countries more and more.

Having mentioned the tragedy which has overwhelmed Somalia, I should like, on behalf of my country, wish to renew to the people of Somalia the expression of our most sincere solidarity.

(Mr. Gatti, San Marino)

Environmental conditions, drought, famine, relentless desertification, the simple tools used in impoverished agriculture and the unfair distribution of food supplies caused by the lack of solidarity determine the daily life of millions of people suffering from hunger. However, one of the biggest scandals of our time is the fact that the food supplies made available do not reach those who have been waiting for them for so long that they no longer need them.

Representatives probably thought that the speech delivered by the representative of the Republic of San Marino to the General Assembly would be a systematic and comprehensive review of the United Nations activities. Rather, I wished to make a number of remarks on how the world could change in order to become a better one. The Charter of the United Nations and the unanimous and determined commitment of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the various United Nations agencies, commissions and committees show that today only the United Nations is capable of improving this world be making it more equitable.

In the long history of the small Republic of San Marino, an important statement is recorded: at the end of the thirteenth century, a judge, who had been given the task of finding a solution to a real estate dispute between the people of San Marino and some podestas in nearby Montefeltro, questioned a citizen from the San Marino community in order to know why that community was free from certain duties. The reason given by that citizen was that San Marino was free and made up of free men. The judge, out of curiosity, asked the witness: "quid est libertas?" The man quickly and firmly replied: "Nemini teneri" - not to be subject to anybody. A modern interpretation of those words is that a free man is one whose personality and dignity are respected.

(Mr. Gatti, San Marino)

San Marino hopes to see this concept become a reality throughout the world. We are sure that this goal can be achieved, with the free and determined contribution of all under the auspices of the United Nations.

Mrs. MCDOUGALL (Canada): Once again the nations of the world meet in full assembly in this Hall to discuss the state of our world, to report on our actions of the past year, and to express the focus of our intentions in the coming years. Many of us had hoped that this might be a time for celebration, a time for rejoicing, as the deep freeze of a lengthy cold war gave way to the soothing warmth of a new era of enlightenment, understanding, caring and purpose.

But we have little joy, and our celebration was certainly short-lived. Whatever insights we may have gained from the cruel and terrible events of the past half century are sorely needed now, in a world that breeds new forms of tyranny, hatred and brutality almost on a daily basis. Many people in this Hall have seen the evidence up close: the bullets, the bodies, and the fear in ordinary men and women, frequently in their own countries.

There is, however, no need to lose hope: we have the capacity, and we must continue to build for the future. What we need is the collective will, and I believe that it is in this United Nations, this global forum, that we must dedicate ourselves to securing the peace and stability which have evaded many generations before us, and must build a new world, individual by individual, nation by nation.

But, we must remove the double standards that are everywhere. What good are words spoken in this Hall if people at home are unable to speak freely? Why exercise the art of diplomacy here, if it is not supported at home by the

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

science of justice and the skilful application of the rule of law? Can we hope to manage, together, an ever more challenging world when many of our own houses are in disorder?

We in Canada, at this very moment, are engaged in our own process of rebuilding, rededication and renewal, a continuing process in real democracies. In four weeks, millions of Canadians will exercise the ultimate democratic right by deciding, through their votes, whether to accept or reject a proposal for fundamental reform of our Canadian Constitution. If accepted, and I have no doubt that it will be, this reform will build on the values and rights which are already a proud part of the Canadian reality. It will strengthen existing guarantees and protection for the rights of minorities, improve the functioning of our already highly regarded democratic institutions, bring greater social and economic justice to our native peoples, and reallocate fundamental roles and responsibilities between levels of government.

(spoke in French)

I am confident that the vast majority of Canadians will support this reform because it is based on fundamental values to which every Canadian subscribes: unswerving respect for the rights of the individual, supported by the rule of law; a strong and deep attachment to democracy, its values and its institutions; a passionate commitment to social justice and economic progress for all; respect for national and international obligations; and a will to resolve differences peacefully through conciliation, compromise and consensus.*

---

* Mr. Mongbé (Benin), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

(spoke in English)

As Canadians, we have learned that democracy and freedom can be maintained only by vision and constant vigilance. New ideas for the future must be grounded in the fundamentals that were the original basis for our unity. As Prime Minister Brian Mulroney told Canadians in introducing our Constitution:

> "What Canada's leaders have produced is a series of constitutional reforms that strengthen the bonds that brought us together in 1867. These reforms renew the concepts that are at the core of Confederation. They provide a strong framework, a solid foundation, to let us move confidently into the future together."

Obviously, a strong and united Canada is important for Canadians, but it is also of fundamental importance to the nations of the world.

The values which Canadians hold, and which we have brought to the world throughout our first 125 years as a nation, are also the values which are fundamental to the Charter of this Organization.

It is our belief that here at the United Nations we are not in need of better principles; the drafters of the original Charter have served us well. What we need from this Organization and its Members is the will to act. And we need deeper understanding of the root causes of conflict between nations, so that together we can

> "break the chain of violence,... defuse the lust for revenge,... voice [the peoples'] needs,... affirm their dignity" (A/40/PV.47, p. 23)

as our Prime Minister said in this Assembly on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations seven years ago.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

I believe that the United Nations has taken up that challenge, and I salute the Secretary-General for his vision and leadership and for his courage in making the Organization more relevant in and to our time. His report, "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277), lights our path to the future.

The Secretary-General also made the important link between peace nations and peace within nations when he pointed out:

> "There is an obvious connection between democratic practices - such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making - and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order."(A/47/277, para. 59)

There are within nation-States three fundamental weaknesses which can cause disputes that go beyond their borders. Primary among these is the absence or abuse of fundamental human rights. If people have no rights, they have no hope; if they have no hope, eventually they will have no fear; and if they have no fear, they will seek any possible means to restore their rights, even killing and dying in the trying. It is a pattern for instability, a pattern for failure, one that has been repeated all too often in the past.

The United Nations must lead in the field of human rights. In El Salvador, Cambodia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Somalia efforts to protect human rights are of fundamental importance in attempts to bring peace to these troubled lands. Canada, by the way, is currently serving in all of those places.

The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights offers a unique opportunity for all Members of the United Nations to work in a constructive and cooperative spirit to strengthen the foundation of universal respect for human rights.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

(spoke in French)

Particularly insidious among the forms of human-rights abuse is systematic discrimination, whether based on gender, race, or ethnic origin.

Violence against women remains one of the most serious forms of human-rights abuse. Canada initiated and strongly supports the current work in the United Nations for the adoption of a universal declaration on violence against women.

(spoke in English)

In another context, to eliminate employment discrimination we must also ensure the election and appointment of more women to senior positions in national and international decision-making bodies, including the United Nations. This has been a cornerstone of my Prime Minister's domestic and international appointments policy.

But no group should be marginalized; all views, all experiences are important. To this end, Canada is proud to be at the forefront of efforts to prepare for the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, 1993, when the international community will turn its attention as never before to the rights of the world's indigenous peoples. Our recently concluded constitutional negotiations in Candada include major advances for indigenous peoples in our own country, which will end years of injustice and inequality in some aspects.

As this special Year begins, we also mark the end of the Decade of Disabled Persons. We must continue to remove barriers to the full participation and integration of persons with disabilities. It is our

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

hope that a consensus for ongoing collaboration can be reached in Montreal, where on 8 and 9 October my colleague, the Honourable Robert de Cotret, Canada's Secretary of State, will host an international meeting of Ministers responsible for persons with disabilities.

This past year has seen the resurgence of a particularly vile form of abuse of human rights. Canada protests in the strongest possible terms the abhorrent practice of "ethnic cleansing". Whatever reason for it, wherever it exists, it represents the basest form of inhumanity and abuse of the individual, and cannot be tolerated by the world community and this Organization.

In this connection, Canada calls for the drafting of a statute by the International Law Commission to establish an international criminal court. For this purpose, Canada will shortly convene an international meeting of experts to mobilize legal expertise on this important matter.

A second major weakness within many nation-States is the absence of a developed system of democratic values and institutions, and this, too, may ultimately lead to conflict.

(spoke in French)

One should not be fooled by the outward trappings of democracy. How can peace flourish when a democratically elected leader is placed under house arrest, as in Myanmar, or a democratically elected Government is violently overthrown, as in Haiti?

A true and lasting democracy requires time and understanding, like a true and lasting friendship. And it requires two-way trust between a nation's peoples and its leaders.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

(spoke in English)

We recognize the enormous challenges facing countries where democracy is in its early stages. We must all promote a climate of trust within these emerging democracies, so that new ideas have time to flourish and take root. Canada is doing this through its aid programmes and by its participation in the social and economic agencies of the Organization.

A third major weakness within nation-States is the inability to make responsible choices in the management of public policy. Good governance is important, because it ensures that in the provision of government programmes and the distribution of government resources adequate attention is paid to social justice, health and education. It also promotes equitable economic opportunity through the development of a free market system. Ultimately, these are the means to defeat poverty and to ensure that arms purchases and spending on the military are not excessive.

Canada's own assistance to developing countries is increasingly focused on and tied to their efforts to protect basic human rights, to develop democratic values and institutions, and to undertake good governance in their policies and programmes.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

We urge other Member States and the General Assembly to adopt a similar philosophy and similar practices if we are to eradicate the seeds of conflict from within nation-States.

These are, of course, resolutions for long-term prevention of conflict. In the meantime, however, we cannot ignore the current state of the world, and that is why the Secretary-General's report, "An Agenda for Peace", is such an important and pivotal document for this General Assembly.

Canada is no stranger to the process of bringing peace to, and keeping peace, in all the regions of the world.

Of the 45,000 peace-keeping forces currently serving under the United Nations flag, close to 4,300, or almost 10 per cent, are Canadian. No other nation has made a greater commitment to United Nations peace-keeping than Canada. Canada has served in virtually every United Nations peace-keeping mission, and Canadians currently serve in such varied missions as those in El Salvador, Cambodia, the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and the Middle East.

Our experience in these and other missions has taught us that no two missions are the same, and our experience has also taught us that peace-keeping, which is not even mentioned in the United Nations Charter, is a dynamic concept that must be further refined to meet the challenges of the 1990s and beyond. Consequently, we are very pleased that the Secretary-General consulted so broadly on this matter, and we are also pleased that much of our own experience and many of our suggestions are reflected in his final report.

We commend the Secretary-General's emphasis on preventive diplomacy and peace-making as the preferred options. We encourage him to continue to use all of the means at his disposal to defuse crises, from fact-finding missions

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

to mediation. We consider it the duty of all Member States to share with the Secretary-General all information that can help him to fulfil his role.

We strongly support the concept of preventive peace-keeping, and we urge the Security Council to adopt this option when lives can be saved, confrontation averted or democracy stabilized. In Kosovo, for example, preventive diplomacy by the Security Council and the Secretary-General may well prevent bloodshed and anarchy such as is seen in much of the rest of the region.

In the area of peace-making, we agree that the Secretary-General should continue to use mediation and negotiation to facilitate the process of peace, and that the Security Council should avail itself of the provisions of the Charter that permit it to recommend appropriate measures for dispute settlement.

We also agree that there is a broader role for the International Court of Justice and that pursuant to Article 96 of the Charter, the Secretary-General be authorized to take advantage of the advisory competence of the Court.

I have already alluded to the 4,300 Canadian men and women, 20 per cent of our military forces, who are currently committed to United Nations peace-keeping operations. Canada has for many years maintained a battalion on stand-by for United Nations peace-keeping operations. We also have a longstanding policy whereby members of other Canadian forces can be and have been called upon for peace-keeping duties. We are prepared to confirm Canadian arrangements through an exchange of letters with the Secretariat, as suggested in the Secretary-General's report. We urge other countries to do the same.

We agree with the need to make available human-rights monitors, electoral officials, refugee and humanitarian specialists and police - whatever the

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

situation calls for. We have committed, for example, 45 members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to serve with United Nations civilian forces in the former Yugoslavia. And let me add, we believe that countries that make available such civilian experts to the United Nations should have their supplemental costs reimbursed.

Whereas "peace-keeping" has become very much central to United Nations action and philosophy, the concepts of "peace enforcement" and "peace-building" are less familiar. We in Canada believe, however, that both will have an increasing role in the future, if the international community is truly dedicated to ending conflict and to enhancing democracy.

Of the two, the use of "enforcement" is the more controversial. Recent events demonstrate that the use of force may be a necessary option, and we urge full consideration of the Secretary-General's views in this regard. For our part, we insist on the right of Member States to take part in any decision involving their nationals. We also believe that further work is required on an urgent basis to determine the circumstances under which enforcement activities should be undertaken and the limits of potential enforcement action.

"Peace-building", on the other hand, has been undertaken, most notably in the multidimensional United Nations activities in Cambodia and El Salvador. These operations are long, difficult and costly.

Building lasting peace is critical despite those obstacles, not only because of the stability, opportunity and safety it brings to the people most directly affected, but because in the long run it is less difficult, less disruptive, and probably less costly than continued hostilities.

Canada, while active in both El Salvador and Cambodia, is fully prepared as well to assist the United Nations in expanding and shaping its approach to peace-building in the future.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

We support the Secretary-General's proposals for improving the effectiveness and timeliness of peace-keeping operations, and, most notably, for the establishment of a peace-keeping start-up fund of $50 million, and the other proposals in his report.

All Member States must pay their dues fully and on time. In May of this year, in the presence of the Secretary-General, Prime Minister Mulroney noted publicly that money is the clearest measure of political will. He went on to say:

> "The Secretary-General of the United Nations, the holder of one of the most important offices in the world, should not be treated as a modern-day mendicant, forced to wander around wealthy capitals imploring the decision-makers to pay their bills so that the United Nations can do its job the next day. He must be free to devote his entire time and energy to running the United Nations and solving global problems, rather than passing the hat for peace and security."

Financing à la carte will, over time, erode the United Nations financial base and also weaken the commitment of Member States to the broad range of its activities.

Canada is opposed to the recent decision of the Security Council to enlarge the mandate of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) at no cost to the United Nations, with the cost to be borne by the participating countries. This sets an unfortunate precedent, and it goes against the United Nations principle of collective responsibility.

We also have serious concerns about certain long-standing missions, such as the one in Cyprus, where Canadians and others have served for 28 years. In Cyprus, an entire generation has grown up regarding the presence of peace-keepers as part of their everyday norm.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

We cannot allow the parties in any dispute to institutionalize permanent peace-keepers so that they are just another aspect of the status quo. This is simply unacceptable. The parties involved must accept their responsibility directly and work with the Secretary-General to find a resolution without further delay.

We are interested in the Secretary-General's suggestion for increasing cooperation with regional arrangements and organizations in functions such as preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building. I myself have encouraged the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to develop some of these mechanisms, and Canada, working within the Organization of American States, remains dedicated to a return to democracy in Haiti.

There is no doubt in my mind that regional efforts in preventive diplomacy and peace-making should be encouraged. I hope that future developments in those institutions will enable them to carry out peace-keeping operations under certain circumstances. But it is the United Nations which will continue to have the ultimate authority.

Expanding the circle of peace-keeping and peace-making organizations may serve to reduce some of the disproportionate burden that in the past certain countries, such as Canada, have willingly assumed. Future needs, however, will require a broadening of participation by Member States.

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

Member States also have a direct responsibility to reduce the numbers and kinds of weapons that are available for conflict. Last year we in this Assembly took a major step to increase transparency in arms sales and to inhibit excessive build-ups of conventional weaponry, with the establishment of the United Nations arms register. This year we can take two even more important steps. The General Assembly, at this session, will launch the preparations for the extension of the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty in 1995. An indefinite extension is the only option.

France and Russia have declared nuclear-testing moratoriums. Other nuclear Powers - the United States, the United Kingdom and China - have no reason not to join them. All nuclear-weapon States should observe an immediate moratorium on nuclear testing and should summon up the political will and energy to negotiate a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

We are seeing some progress. After many years of difficult negotiations, our negotiators at the Conference on Disasrmament have succeeded in producing a chemical-weapons Convention that, when implemented, will ban all chemical weapons for ever. I urge all Member States to join Canada as original signatories when that Convention is opened for signature in Paris next year.

There are other substantive issues that I should have liked to discuss in greater detail before the General Assembly today - notably, the follow-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, where Canada's Prime Minister expressed his strong support for conventions on climate change and on biological diversity, in a ringing call to action:

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

"As political leaders",

he told his fellow nation-builders,

"our job is to force the pace and stretch out the limits of international cooperation. Nations ... have the human genius to create a world free from deprivation and secure from degradation. What remains is for Governments to provide the leadership the world so desperately needs."

The job of the General Assembly is to continue to stretch those limits and to demonstrate that leadership through the establishment of a commission on sustainable developmet and a conference on the high seas.

There are as well, of course, many issues of process, such as reform of the United Nations development system, that require our immediate time and attention. Canada put forward detailed proposals in this regard in July in the Economic and Social Council, and will continue to take an active role and interest in this matter.

What a large task we have set for ourselves. But one of the lessons that we have learned in the post-cold-war era is that there is no breathing space, there is no long pause for contemplation and reflection. Decisions must be made on a timely basis, and when those decisions are made, all Member States must vigorously support and abide by them.

Last month, at the London Conference on the former Yugoslavia, I made it clear that Canada is losing patience with much of the posturing that, historically, has masqueraded as international diplomacy. I know that others in the Assembly share this frustration. But, as we speak, the body count rises in what is left of Bosnia and Herzegovina - not to mention the thousands of men, women and children who are facing starvation in Somalia. The United

(Mrs. McDougall, Canada)

Nations needs the commitment of its Member States, it needs well-thought-out and timely decisions, and it needs follow-up action. Anything less is failure.

Let us not spend the next four or five years debating the niceties of this principle or that concept; let us all get on with the everyday job of building peace and security. No one should be here who is not prepared to work towards those noble objectives, and no one should leave here without confirming his or her commitment to working together for the benefit of all the peoples of the world.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.